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ABSTRACT

This paper explores how students from three different high schools (one all female, one all male changing to coeducation, and one previously all female, and now coeducational) experience school culture, how institutions, through their policies and practices, communicate normative behavior about gender, and how gender is communicated through aspects of school culture were studied. All three schools were in a large Catholic diocese. Data came from research in the general areas of: (1) school policy and administration; (2) curriculum; (3) pedagogy; (4) student outcomes; (5) school culture; and (6) faculty action research. Classroom observations, student focus groups, surveys of students, and student and faculty interviews were used. In the first year, 225 males were interviewed, and in the second year, 481 males and 178 females completed the survey. Fifteen young women were interviewed before high school entry, and four focus groups were formed. Students experienced different cultural realities when they were in single sex schools than in coeducational schools. The value of femaleness was higher in the all female school than in the coeducational settings, and females in the single sex setting had a higher sense of efficacy and individual power than did females in the coeducational setting. Embedded in the culture of the coeducational institution was the lack of recognition of femaleness, and even its devaluation. In the female system, however, being female was an explicit part of the culture. The coeducational setting that once had been all male emphasized uniformity and obedience to authority, while the all-female setting emphasized individuality and perhaps even encouraged rebellion. Appendixes contain the questionnaires completed before and after coeducation at the previously male school. (Contains 1 table and 31 references.) (SLD)

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Gender and the Culture of Schools

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Gender and the Culture of Schools

Abstract

A school's status as either single-sex or coeducational results in different patterns of interaction, kinds of talk, types of ideas talked about,and senses of self experienced by the students. As the self is generated through the reflected appraisals of others, females, especially, have a different reflected self in an all female setting than when males are present. Boys have the privilege of learning in an environment that reflects back to them through lessons, texts, exams, and discussions, the images and knowledge of their own male culture. Girls, on the other hand, when in the same environment, see little reflection of their lives or their experiences. In this paper, we look at how students from three different high schools (one all female; one all male changing to coeducation; and one previously all female, now coeducational) experience school culture. We discuss how institutions, through their policies and practices, communicate normative behavior about gender, and how gender is communicated through different aspects of school culture.

Sources for data came from five general research areas: school policy and administration; curriculum; pedagogy; student outcomes; school culture; and faculty action research. The research tasks that provided the data for the conclusions of this paper included: (a) observing classrooms and meeting with the teachers involved, (b) conducting student focus groups, (c) conducting surveys of current students, (d) interviewing incoming students, (e) interviewing faculty members about issues related to school culture, social environment, teaching, and student leadership.

Students experienced different cultural realities when they were in single sex schools than in coeducational schools. The value of femaleness was higher in the all female school than in the coeducational settings and females in the single sex setting had a higher sense of efficacy and individual power than did females in the coeducational settings. Embedded in the culture of the coeducational institution was the lack of recognition of femaleness, and even its devaluation. In the female system, however, being female was an explicit part of the culture; femaleness was valued. While the three schools shared cultural elements such as missions for high academic standards, leadership in the community, and spirituality; the articulated beliefs and the unspoken assumptions about how people should behave in relation to authority was different. The coeducational setting that had once been all males, emphasized uniformity and obedience to authority. The all female setting emphasized individuality and, perhaps, even encouraged rebellion.

GENDER AND THE CULTURE OF SCHOOLS

Introduction

The research we report on in this paper is part of a three year study to understand the expectations, issues, problems, and changes that teachers, administrators, students, and staff undergo when they are faced with an impending transition from a single-sex high school to one that is coeducational. The decision of Xavier Preparatory High School to become coeducational affected the educational environment of a large Catholic diocese, and, specifically, two sister high schools. One chose to become coeducational (Grove) and the other reaffirmed its mission and remained all women (St. Elizabeth's). We worked most actively with Xavier using the other two high schools as companion comparisons.

The central questions we asked in 1992 remain the focus of our work: What are the lessons about the education of girls and achievement of gender equity in high schools that we can learn from studying and contrasting these three organizations? What is the role of single-sex or co-education in improving the educational contexts for young people--both men and women? How does gender consciousness (i.e., the ability to understand society's embedded sexism and gender inequality and the willingness to anticipate, respond to and change this condition) affect the culture of schools, and the experience and achievement of students in different, gendered settings? We believe the knowledge gained from studying these settings will contribute to developing institutional effectiveness leading to higher levels of student achievement and appropriate compensatory or complimentary practices (gender fair practices) for young men and women. We prefer to place the onus of responsibility for creating gender-fair environments on how educators organize their work and how they create environments for learning. Public and private schools can and should benefit from research drawn from other organizational settings.

ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AND GENDER

As we visited Xavier, St. Elizabeth's and Grove High School we noticed discernible contrasts. It felt different as we walked the hallways. As we talked with students and faculty, as we watched how students interacted in classrooms and in hallways, we recognized the variations one would find within any American high school--variations in tone, energy, formality and informality--as well as aspects common to classes regardless of the school. But there were different norms among the schools for behavior, for dress, for formal and informal exchanges between students, between students and teachers and administrators. These characteristics are typically referred to as manifestations of the "culture" of the organization (Morgan, 1986). Culture is difficult to

capture in words, but it was definitely palpable to us who were trying to describe the tenor of these three schools. Edgar Schein describes the term culture in organizations: as observed behavioral regularities, norms, dominant values espoused, philosophy, rules of the game and feeling or climate (1985, p.6).

The metaphors of culture are helpful; they are ecological symbols of the environment: organizational climate, negotiating the varied terrain, capturing the unique environment. Each of these reveals the complex, subtle and interdependent nature of the cultures which make up a school organization. Culture consists of many levels: artifacts (e.g., mascots, physical arrangements of classrooms or hallways, clothing styles, language, ceremonies), articulated beliefs (e.g., mission statements, publications), values as espoused ideals, and assumptions which are tacit beliefs that are not articulated but implied through behavior and which may or may not be congruent with the articulated values. To look at school culture, then, is to look at the overt and subtle messages that consciously, subconsciously, and unconsciously guide the making of policy and influence the behavior of individuals. We might say more accurately that an organization has many cultures, and individuals may or may not participate in all of the cultures which exist (Martin, 1992).

To understand individual behavior, we must understand how they see the environment and how they are influenced by it. Individuals may participate in many cultural environments at once, and share in the creation of articulated and tacit assumptions, values, meanings and messages communicated about femaleness and maleness.

We consider schools as "gendered cultures." There is no conscious conspiracy on the part of individuals to shortchange females or males; there is no intended malevolence. Individual teachers and administrators typically want to help develop female and male students to their highest potential. Nonetheless, institutions, unconsciously, through their policies and practices, and through the collective understandings about what constitutes teaching and learning, communicate normative behavior about gender (Zanders, 1993).

In this paper we focus on students and their experiences in three high schools with a particular focus on young women at Xavier during its first year of coeducation. It must be noted, however, that we studied these schools when gender consciousness was high. Xavier had been planning for the admittance of young women for several years; St. Elizabeth's was concerned about their future as an all female school, and Grove High School was trying hard to attract males to a previously all female high school. We look primarily at how students in each school view:

1. the academic mission of the school,
2. athletics and extra curricular activities,

3. peer social relationships,
4. classroom dynamics,
5. student leadership,
6. the school community.

METHODOLOGY

Over the course of two years we gathered information from students about their high schools through written surveys, questionnaires and interviews and student focus groups. We asked questions about academics, extracurricular activities, peer social relationships, classroom dynamics, leadership and community. (We also observed in classrooms and schools, gathering both qualitative and quantitative data and we conducted interviews and focus groups with the faculty and administration. These aspects of the study have been reported in prior AERA papers.[1])

1. Survey Data

At Xavier students responded to a written Likert 5 scale survey (from "I mostly disagree" to "I mostly agree") with statements about their school. Prior to coeducation freshman, sophomore, and junior male classes responded. We gave a similar survey after the first year of coeducation to all returning males who were asked about their experiences with coeducation. Females were asked questions about their experience during the transition year. 255 males,out of 600 student population freshmen through junior levels completed the first year surveys. 481 males out of 550 males, freshmen through senior level completed the second year survey. 178 females, freshmen through seniors completed the second year survey.

2. Questionnaires

Fifteen young women at Xavier were interviewed prior to entry; seven came from public schools, eight transferred from Catholic schools, three came from St. Elizabeth's. Most of the young women indicated they chose Xavier because their parents wanted them to come, and they had friends or brothers who attended. 33% chose Xavier because of its excellence in academics and athletics. Overall, they expected to be welcomed, although they also anticipated difficulties. Some heard that boys didn't want girls to enter, several predicted the first few months would be the hardest but then things would work out. They generally were prepared to be positive. One young women expressed the sentiments of most: "Once they get used to us, they'll be really glad to have us."

3. Focus Groups

Four focus groups were formed; two female researchers met monthly with eight young women from different grades at Xavier, and at St. Elizabeth's Academy to talk about a particular topic and how they viewed their school and

relationship with peers and teachers. Two female researchers met once with senior women who were school officers at Grove High School; they were in the last all-female class. A male and a female researcher met twice with six returning young men at Xavier after coeducation to discuss their perceptions of their school.

Student Predictions of Change

Prior to coeducation 98% of Xavier males predicted the school would change when young women entered. After coeducation 99% of returning students confirmed that the school was different and the school atmosphere had changed.

What did the young men expect? Prior to coeducation males predicted young women would distract them, would increase competition for grades, that young men would "show off," and there would be a loss of sense of community. Upon completing the first year of coeducation returning male students were less negative than they had been in their prediction. Students indicated that the atmosphere was different, not better or worse. "Xavier is extremely different than last year, but that does not necessarily mean it is better or worse." Many males noted that the increase in school size, from 400 to 800 students the first year women were admitted, may have had a larger impact than coeducation. One male student noted:

> "Girls have made the school bigger and has made Xavier lose it's sense of tight community. It's still a community, but it's not the same Xavier as it was last year."

He recognized that the school atmosphere changes could not be explained only by the entrance of young women, but included the increased size. Several young men viewed the arrival of young women favorably:

> "
>
> Like it or not, this is the real world."
>
> "The integration of women into our school has been a necessary and positive experience. People may not realize this, or opt not to recognize it's importance; it is their loss."

Students predicted the school would change with coeducation, and their predictions were confirmed; the school did change. Some young men lamented the loss of community as they had known it, but suggested the increased school size was as responsible for changes as the move to coeducation.

1. The Academic Mission

In their mission statements all three schools purport to develop a well rounded student. They wanted to facilitate

student development in intellectual, physical, social and spiritual dimensions. All emphasized their commitment to Catholic education, and the importance of serving others with a social justice agenda. The schools, however, committed to these ideals in various degrees. And it is in these arenas that young men and young women experienced different and sometimes conflicting messages about how to negotiate their lives within a gendered culture. In the following section we will look at how students viewed the articulated culture through the general school values around academics, athletics, extracurricular activities, peer relationships, adult relationships and student leadership--all important aspects of each school's culture.

Academics at Xavier Preparatory

Xavier's academic mission is clearly articulated in the literature and by the staff; people are proud of their school. It is a school that prepares almost all students to attend a four year college. It has a highly structured traditional curriculum guided by Ignatian philosophy, classes are small and teachers demand a lot from their students. Female students were attracted to its high academic standards.

> "We knew I was going here ever since Xavier was talking about going coed. Both of my brothers went here. My family wanted me to go here. It was the accepted thing. Xavier is strong academically. It's well known."
>
> "I came to Xavier mainly for the academics."
>
> "At Xavier I like the facilities, the academics are good. The public schools are not doing so good."

Students emphasized that being a good Xavier student gave a competitive edge when applying to a good college. Graduates regularly attend elite colleges and universities in the midwest and east such as Georgetown, Notre Dame, Brown, William and Mary, or on the west coast: Lewis & Clark, Stanford, Santa Clara; and many had hopes for athletic or academic scholarships. Parents and school personnel have high expectations for academic performance. Female and male students cited these high expectations and they recognized their privileged status. As one female student said, "We are well off; our parents are sending us here."

Upon the arrival of young women at Xavier, the academic mission did not change nor did the academic curriculum. The teachers and administrators saw no need to change its academic program with the introduction of young women; the program had produced male scholars who were successful in elite university programs and they saw their mission as to provide the same opportunities for young women. What is good for boys, is good for girls. The concept of the "primacy of the male" influenced the academic programs at Xavier; males

provided the norm and females were expected to fit the same normative pattern. And females did, by and large, accept the normative patterns for academic achievement and success. They expected to be academically challenged and they were.

In the female focus groups we did hear young women talk about " being scared" and "not ready" for college and experiencing "so much pressure" with the expectation that they maintain a high grade point average. Perhaps they had to demonstrate they were equal to the task and were as serious about pursuing a profession as were their brothers. In today's society most young women are expected to develop career expectations, and especially in the Catholic context, they are also expected to carve out a life with family, with general expectations that mothers will be primary responsible care takers of children. All young women in the focus groups at Xavier expected to have a career and a family. These pressures and expectations about the simultaneous expectations of career and family, are treated differently at St. Elizabeth's and at Grove High School.

Academics at St. Elizabeth's

The school letterhead reads "education uniquely focused on young women." It is the only all female school in the region. A banner across the school entrance hanging next to two national Exemplary School Awards also bear their message: "130 Years of Making a Difference." The young women from St. Elizabeth's shared with Xavier's young women a commitment to academic excellence.

> "I decided to come to St. Elizabeth's when I was in the 5th grade because my sister went her and really liked it."
>
> "I chose it because of its strong academic reputation".

St. Elizabeth's women had high expectations of going to good colleges, similar to the colleges named by Xavier students. They often mentioned attending an all women's school. They exhibited career inclinations, but wanted to "do what interests me." One young woman said, "I don't want to be something I don't enjoy...something that wouldn't let me expand." However, though they clearly worked hard and cared about getting good grades so they could get into a good college, the young women at St. Elizabeth's didn't talk about pressure and stress in the same way several Xavier young women and men did. They cherished the independence they pictured in the future, feeling ready to be more "on my own"; "I can do anything."

Academics at Grove.

Grove High School was going through a significant change in its academic mission at the time of our study. It did not have the high academic reputation as the other two high

schools. Families seemed not to have the same aspirations for their daughters. Grove was in the process of developing a stronger focus on individualism and academics than in the past.

The senior women we interviewed were in the last all female class; they were all going to college but unlike students at Xavier and St. Elizabeth's, most planned to attend schools in the region. Since males entered, however, these senior women noted differential treatment for males and females in academic requirements for admission. The young women took issue with the ways they perceived the administration had courted boys to attend Grove and applied different standards for admission; they believed boys met lower academic standards for admission, "They let guys in who got kicked out of public schools." Indeed, in a meeting with Grove faculty, they acknowledged different academic standards were used to admit young men, indicating they needed to rethink admission policies.

The changing academic standards at Grove are in direct contrast to the situation at Xavier. Whereas at Xavier the decision was to include young women in the standard curriculum that had been developed for young men, at Grove the standards changed as young men entered. Whereas at Xavier what was good for boys was also good for girls. At Grove what was good for girls was <u>not</u> good for boys. The concept of the primacy of the male led to the same curriculum at Xavier, yet led to changes at Grove. At both Grove and Xavier the students who had participated in a single sex environment blamed the entrance of the other sex for reducing standards.

2. Athletics and Extra Curricular Activities

While Xavier is respected for its academic quality, it also has a strong reputation for athletics sending teams to the state finals on a regular basis, especially football and soccer. Athletics is so strong that they have traditionally played at the 4A conference level with schools much larger than themselves. Xavier expects students to be "well rounded" and to "have a balance" between sports and academics. Most young women who entered Xavier were in line with the goals of the school; they were academically oriented and athletically talented. The faculty at Xavier was committed to providing equal opportunities for athletics for females in their new school. In fact, athletics was the major part of the school program that changed--the new building included a new gym, new locker room for females, and the expansion of teams to provide for equal sports events for females. Some young men were impressed by the positive contribution young women made to athletics at Xavier.[2]

> "They established a lot of women's sports; I was impressed. They did a great job."

"All sports have been successful, the (women's) soccer team is dominating."

At Xavier there was strong pressure to participate in athletics for males and females; this competition was not as strong at St. Elizabeth's or at Grove. While some young women at Xavier believed that "everyone is respected for what they do", there was pressure to participate in sports. Getting on a team was seen as "very competitive." Some female students regarded competition as valuable and looked forward to the opportunity. Other young women chose not to participate. A female freshman reported that Xavier had recruited so many good women for soccer and she didn't believe she was that good, so she decided not to try out. On the other hand the truly athletically-oriented young women at Xavier talked about how important it was to participate in sports, and even though sports were competitive, "the emphasis is on the team." They valued the high quality of team spirit and shared responsibility for success. A female freshman said:

"I feel better around those (well rounded) people. When I'm with them, I feel like I'm headed for success because they're headed for success."

Again, as in academics the male athlete provide the normative model and females adopted the competitive spirit at Xavier.

At Grove High young women noted a difference in sports since boys entered the high school. School spirit had waned for the athletic teams, although the number of sports and kinds of sports offered had increased.

"Sports were a real source of pride for the school, and now the guys come in and it's hard when you're going to a game every night to have much spirit."

Assemblies didn't seem as "peppy" and students "don't really get into the spirit of assemblies like we used to." The senior girls believed the boys had diminished the school spirit by labeling as "uncool" certain activities which had become traditional, such as lip-synching.

Cheerleading, certainly an activity primarily designated as "female" in the United States took an interesting turn at Xavier. Some young men expressed anger that young women became dominant on the cheerleading squad; of 15 cheerleaders only 2 or 3 were boys. In prior years the male cheerleaders were a "rag-tag group" that sometimes was an embarrassment to the school staff. With the addition of girls the cheerleading squad became more polished with practiced routines and uniforms. The new norms for cheerleaders led to some instances of hostility from male students.

"There were instances when the squad got picked on. The first two weeks were harsh. Seniors used to get the first row (of seating), but there was competition between the senior class and the cheerleaders." (female student at Xavier)

While winning teams are highly valued at Xavier, extra-curricular involvement could also mean drama, band or one of the many clubs. Female and male students at Xavier believe the school honors different student interests but it was essential to be involved in something. "There's very rarely someone who doesn't belong to something."

St. Elizabeth's students also noted the importance of being involved in extracurricular activities as a way to meet people, belong, as "a stress reducer," and also to improve one's chances of getting into college. They were less interested in being competitive and preferred "non-tryout activities" where everyone who wants to be involved can participate.

All three schools support a high student involvement in athletics and extracurricular activities to develop a well rounded student to prepare for college, to express the values of community service, and participate fully in high school. This is consistent with several studies (Byrk, Lee & Holland 1993; Riordon, 1990) which demonstrate the particular benefits that accrue to students who attend Catholic schools where the norms, values and expectations create strong cultures with high expectations..

3. Peer Social Relations

Peer relationships are of utmost importance to adolescents and there are some differences in friendship patterns by sex. For females, the purpose of friendship is for intimacy, commitment and loyalty, for males the purposes of friendship is more often for achievement, competitive advantage and leadership.

Young men and young women in our study expected there to be differences in peer social relationships in single sex and coeducational settings. In this section we will discuss three peer issues most often raised by students: 1) cross sex relationships, 2) cliques, and 3) issues of belonging.

Cross sex relationships

Young men at Xavier, and young women at Grove and St. Elizabeth's predicted that the biggest change coming with coeducation would be in cross-sex relationships. Females believed they would be intimidated by young men in the classroom, that males would be a distraction and interfere with learning and that they would have to pay more attention to their looks and dress. Males believed young women would increase classroom competition for grades, that male to male friendships might be jeopardized by jealousy and that males

would pay more attention to their girlfriends than their male friends. Young women at Xavier from public schools noted that in public coeducational schools,

> "There are so many more couples. Everyone has a boyfriend. I have a friend [going to public school next year] and she just feels that pressure, that if she doesn't have someone right now she's going to be below all the others."

Relationships with the other sex were uppermost in the minds of these adolescents as they faced a future with or without people of the other sex. Some young men at Xavier noted they were uncomfortable in the presence of girls, "Lots of guys aren't comfortable and don't have a lot of interaction with the girls." But they noted they were learning how to act around girls. Both sexes believed cross sex romantic relationships would change same sex friendship. A male said,

> "Friends will get a girlfriend and now they will have their girls in their life and the girls will take over more of their time."

Some Xavier young men said they liked it better when the girls were over at St. Elizabeth's. School was for "hanging out" with the guys and the evenings weekends were for dating and being with girl friends. Xavier males were reluctant to give up the "fellowship or camaraderie in the all-male classes" and were disturbed that "friendships could be affected by having a girl come between them." Indeed, even among faculty there was concern that male students would not easily share their emotional and vulnerable side when young women were present.

Presence of Cliques

Young men at Xavier predicted females would form cliques and that the easy, relaxed, inclusive male-male relationships established in the all male school would be jeopardized. They expected that women would exert their personal power by managing social relationships by the formation of much feared "cliques"--small, impermeable groups of students who operate on social exclusion. Although cliques had not formed to the degree predicted by males, females at Xavier confirmed that some cliques had formed, and furthermore, they were exclusionary; there were those who transferred from St. Elizabeth's, some social class groupings, and some by grade level groups.

A Xavier freshman in the focus group impressed us with her sense of self confidence and assertiveness. She pointed out she had developed friendships purposefully with peers from many different groups. She described Xavier as "like the high schools you read about in books--sports, family

feeling, spirit. You can be different here. You just need to find your own way to be different." She told us she had friends "all spread out all over throughout the freshman class. Everybody has their own circle of friends, but I have a few from each kind of circle." She tried to get them together through the common experience of having them spend the night at her house, but with limited success; "They're starting to get along better.". A junior echoed this theme, telling of a shy girl who she got to know well at the junior class encounter. "And now she talks all the time. I mean, she doesn't over talk, but she is not quiet."

Size does not appear to affect the perceived presence of student cliques. St. Elizabeth's remains a much smaller school; some described it as very "cliquey", though some preferred to call it "groupie." Feelings of exclusion may be less a problem than at Xavier, but this may also be an artifact of a smaller student body, and a strong cultural norm to recognize and honor the uniqueness of each young woman. Although there were cliques and exclusiveness, students talked about different circles of friends and that "there is a place for everyone." St. Elizabeth's students also discussed cliques, but more as "groupie" friends and as less negative. Students at all of the schools worried about friendship and the problem of being an outsider--wanting assurance of acceptance and a place within the school community.

Feelings of Belonging

Marsh, Smith, March & Owen (1988) studied the effects on self-concept of a change from single sex schools to coeducation in Australia. They concluded that changes such as these organizational reconfigurations pose unique challenges to young adolescents about self-esteem and the sense of belonging but that sex differences in specific areas of self-concept--those favoring boys and those favoring girls--were unaffected by the transition. Although we did not study self-concept directly, we noted differences in how the need for belonging played out at Xavier and St. Elizabeth's. At St. Elizabeth's, young women feared being "hurt" by being looked down upon, or considered stupid. "Fear of people not liking you; of being wrong," and "fear of people laughing at you," or of "boring everyone to death" by talking too much were fears recalled. As a freshman, "If you don't say things, then you won't have to risk things. You might not want to start your four years here with a bad reputation." Although St. Elizabeth's young women generally found and developed strong voices and self-confidence, and claimed to be able to speak out, being "wrong" or "stupid" was still an issue in the same sex setting. They claimed they would not be so vocal in coeducational settings.

Xavier women were concerned about their place in school, they wondered where they belonged among their peers. We

heard about a student who "worries a lot about what people are thinking of her." Another student said,

> "I felt a lot of pressure to do volleyball. I wanted to try out for the play. I didn't want to do volleyball but a lot of my friends were and I didn't want to feel left out."

The change to coeducation at Xavier High School heightened student awareness of social relationships. Both students and teachers closely examined how young women would do at Xavier and if their presence would be a negative or positive factor. While male students who previously attended Xavier lamented the loss of the close camaraderie with the all male school, they were also aware of the benefits gained from having young women attend their school.

In conclusion we saw how much power young men ascribed to young women's abilities to affect the social relationships of a school culture. On the other side, we noted the strong sense of agency of the young women at both Xavier and St. Elizabeth's. The women who were among the first group to effect the transition to coeducation were certainly a particular ilk: they were athletic, bright and socially adapt. They knew what they wanted and were not afraid to pursue it. The young women at St. Elizabeth's expressed the normal fears about being accepted and belonging, but within the culture of their school, being unique and known for qualities which went beyond typical definitions of popularity, was cultivated and understood by the students. And for the senior women at Grove, the social world as they knew it dissolved and disintegrated with the arrival of boys, and they felt powerless to change that.

4. Classroom Group Dynamics

Students were most vocal and had most heightened awareness of gender bias when they spoke of classroom dynamics; males and females in the coeducational schools believed teachers preferred and favored the other sex. They noted demeaning female sexist remarks or jokes made by teachers or other students, and both sexes believed the dynamics of the classroom had changed dramatically with the introduction of the other sex.

Relationships with Teachers

Prior to coeducation at Xavier, 93% of the young men predicted teachers would teach differently, after coeducation 88% of the returning young men believed teachers had changed their teaching. The primary change noted was that teachers were more sensitive about telling demeaning, female, sexist jokes or making sexist remarks, although some teachers still persisted in continuing with sexist jokes or behaviors. Young men as well as young women noticed this. At Grove High

School there was no mention made of teachers making demeaning remarks regarding males.

With the doubling of the student body at Xavier, the teaching staff also doubled in size. Many new teachers, and many more female teachers were hired. Students noticed a difference in their teachers, or they expressed anxieties communicated through teachers and staff:

> "Teachers who have been here all their lives are just overwhelmed. They are getting so tired. There is so much stress now. Mr. Coe said he could do only 15 recommendations." (male student, Xavier)

Students at Xavier noted that some of the really "gruff" teachers had changed their hard tactics. The teacher who used to throw tennis balls to make sure young men were paying attention didn't continue his tennis ball throwing when females entered the classroom. Other teachers still engaged in hard tactics; as one student said, "Mr. X cares...physical torment is to show he loves us." There was no indication that teachers at Grove High School or at St. Elizabeth's engaged in the kinds of behavior described about some male teachers at Xavier.

Both young men at Xavier and young women at Grove believed teachers paid more attention to the other sex. But the teacher-student interaction data by Myra and David Sadker (1994) and Debra Tannen (1991) support the females' perceptions: teachers call on boys more frequently, give them more time to respond and ask more probing questions of boys than of girls. Our Xavier classroom observation data corroborates this as well. We traced student and teacher talk in several classes. Some teachers consciously tried to be "fair" and call on students equally, but even so, males received more attention and had more "talk time" than females. What is as important as access is the kind of discourse which occurs in the classroom (Hiller, 1998). The researcher's field notes describe an incident involving the Algebra teacher and a female student:

> ...toward the end of the class period students began filling out their registration forms for next year's classes. A female student approached the teacher and said she wanted to move to an accelerated math class. The teacher glanced at her and responded, "I don't think that is a good idea, your work is too sloppy." He then moved to a male who had been talking loudly to the entire class that he was going to take math "all four years," because it would look good on his college applications. The teacher smiled and told him that was a very good idea. (Beacom, 1994).

The researcher noted the general negative and competitive tone of the class, and in this incident captured the belittling of the female student's intelligence while

allowing a male student to disrupt the class and draw the teacher's attention toward himself. This analysis of the discourse points out the gender biases which are subtle but obvious to the female students whom we interviewed.

Classroom Group Dynamics

Xavier males and Grove females believed the dynamics of their single sex classrooms had changed dramatically. For one, since both sexes believed the teachers favored the other sex, they both thought the other sex "gets away with murder." And both sexes brought stereotypic notions of the other to reporting behavior in the classroom (and just because it is stereotypic doe not mean it is false!). For instance, Xavier male students said: "Girls are argumentative in class." "A lot of girls are afraid of getting the wrong answer. A lot of them don't understand." It was upsetting to some young men that the young women disrupted the looser and more permissive environment and the "joking around with guys."

The grievances about males entering their school were clearly articulated by Grove senior women who shared several stories about changes in teachers and classroom interactions in their newly coeducational classes.

> "One class that's really different [with boys now] is the music class. The teachers are so sexist. They're like, 'Oh, have the men come down and move this.' We can't volunteer to do anything. The class is 3:1, girls to guys. (Asked whether the girls used to help move music stands they told us), Oh, yeah. She used to say, 'Okay, can we get some strong people down here and [we would help].' Now it's just like, 'Can we get some of these big guys? Let's have some men come down here.' And it's just like, 'Excuse me, it's not that heavy.'"(female student, Grove)

Some who had attended Grove throughout their elementary school years (long a coeducational environment at that level) confirmed this practice in early grade school:

> "Even though the young men were like half our size they were still short in eighth grade, and they were still asked to move stuff. It's the idea, 'Boys are finally here; girls don't have to do anything.' Almost all of us were brought up to be independent and to be able to do stuff like that, because obviously most of us are sitting here for that reason, so that we could be independent women. It's just disgusting." (female student, Grove)

While perturbed by the preference given to males, they were also annoyed at the opposite situation with their male coaches on the track team and in swimming.

> "The guys sit there with their walkmans while the girls move the high jump pits and everything. It's supposed to be the girls move them out, the guys take them in, but it ends up the girls take them out and the girls take them in." (female student, Grove)

And in swimming, the coach "never asks the guys to do anything. He always asks the girls to carry everything." In the past in their all-female classes,

> "We used to talk about everything. We'd joke about family and boyfriends and stuff like that. Now we can't joke about anything because if you do the guys kinda take over the topic and go off in their own world." (female student, Grove)

And, finally, teachers

> "used to get mad if you didn't raise your hand. Now it's just like, don't talk over people and don't interrupt them; if you're going to interrupt them, don't yell. Guys just blurt out, even if it's wrong; they'll just yell it out anyway." (female student, Grove)

From these young women's point of view there was a general demise in how people cared for each other: "The rules that are respectful toward other people have become lax. It doesn't really matter anymore." (female student, Grove)

Grove Senior women raised similar concerns as the Xavier men who were used to an all male setting. Coeducation changed the classroom and some of the informal ways of relating in a classroom setting were no longer appropriate or comfortable in the new coeducation setting. Young women at Xavier, for the most part, were complimentary about the teachers and the academic standards at Xavier.

> "Academically the school is very difficult, yet, at the same time, teachers truly want you to succeed and they will do what is necessary to help you reach your goals. The teachers are very dedicated and I appreciate them." (female student, Xavier)

Some noted, however, that some teachers were not used to working with young women and that the curriculum, itself, was very male dominated.

> "Many teachers have not had the chance to teach girls and do not know how to associate with them. Some treat us as if we are equal to boys--we are different." (female student, Xavier)
>
> "There is a need for teachers to realize even if there are four girls in a class they need to also speak

to them, and about things they can be involved in, not just sports." female student, Xavier)

The feeling of being either ignored or treated the same as boys is evident in the literature on girls' experiences of gender differences in classroom settings (Barbara & Cardinale, 1991; Lockheed, 1985; Sadker & Sadker, 1994, Sadker, Sadker & Klein, 1991, and Streitmatter, Blair & Marasco, 1996). Both the young men and young women at Xavier and Grove thought teachers had become more lax with the advent of coeducation. They were keenly aware of changes in the way their former teachers acted in the classroom and believed they favored the other sex, although our classroom observational data supported the fact that even in the most gender fair classrooms, boys talked more often than girls and in general, controlled the nature and direction of the classroom discourse. Students noticed changes in the enforcement of prior behavior policies and were concerned about the lowering of standards, whether the school was now admitting young men or young women as it became a coeducational school.

Our interpretation is that at Grove High School, the standards for admitting students and performing academically and socially were, indeed, changed, if not lowered. The Grove school officals concurred with this. And the female reports on classroom dynamics and student-teacher relationships revealed the presence of traditional sex biased expectations. At Xavier,in our study of teachers perceptions (Brody, Nagal & Pace, 1994). we found that the majority of teachers believed that girls matched or exceeded academic standards. But teachers did admit classroom dynamics and behavior standards had changed somewhat. Young men at Xavier may have interpreted a "softening" of the tone of the learning environment as a lowering of standards. Certainly, they had to share their learning environments with girls under new and different terms and any change could fuel the perception that the girls were receiving more attention, when in fact, they were not.

5. Leadership

Although most high schools want to develop leadership among their young people, Catholic schools set themselves apart by emphasizing leadership as a critical part of the educational mission (Byrk, Lee & Holland, 1993; Riordan, 1990). The schools we studied are no exception. The history of leadership, however, is steeped in the male prerogative, and the literature on leadership is primarily based on those in positions of authority in industry and the military; primarily men. There is a growing body of literature using females as subjects for studies and leadership, and there is a current a debate about whether or not females and males lead differently, with data supporting similarity and

differences (Dunlap and Schmuck, 1995). The stereotype that a leader is male is reflected at Grove High School where male students took over all the school officer positions for several years, and at Xavier the resistance to the admission of young women was strong enough to keep any females out of school officer positions, excepting secretary. When one thinks of leaders, one thinks of men usually. This is a stereotype clearly exhibited in the two coeducation schools we studied.

The Characteristics of Leading

We asked students to identify who were leaders and what were their characteristics. Was leadership based on position? Was it based on personality differences? Behavioral differences? There were clear differences between how young men and young women constructed leadership and whether it is primarily positionally based or defined by personality or behavior or other characteristics. These distinctions in how students understood leadership are important because they point to the significant social learning which occurs through the gendered cultures of the environment. Some learning about leadership may occur through the official curriculum, but it is more likely that students develop their conceptions of leaders and leadership through messages and models in the larger society, the cumulative experiences in a school culture and their informal relationships with staff and each other.

In analyzing the characteristics of leaders described by young women and young men in the focus groups we noted that females gave many more characteristics of leaders than did males; whereas young women generated about forty one different characteristics, males gave twelve (See Table 5.0). The characteristics describe by females included behavioral process skills such as how to run an effective meeting, being able to work well with others; they also included some personality characteristics such as being assertive, courageous, self confident and a role model for others. Young women had a broad view of leadership and a deep understanding of what it meant to lead; many of the ideas were those of relationship between leaders and followers. This is confirmed in the literature about females thinking more "relationally" as compared to males (Belenky, et.al., 1986; Felker, 1993; Lyons, Saltonstall & Hamner, 1990; Rosner, 1990). Compared to young men, the young women's discourse was more elaborate and included many examples of what leadership and leaders look like. Many of the characteristics mentioned by females were not mentioned by males. For instance, young women in both schools talked about "silent leaders"--people looked up to and followed but who were not loud nor vociferous; they also talked about courage and confidence. Males never mentioned those concepts, but instead envisioned leadership as a position of authority. Many female students openly rejected the view of

leadership as positional authority; a St. Elizabeth's student said, "Leadership is more person-based. Authority is more power based." Another student said, "I think authority is a different kind of leadership, a sort of forced leadership."

School officers are members of the ASB (Association of Student Bodies). There was some debate as to whether official school officers are leaders; most males and many of other young women at Xavier said ASB officers were student leaders. St. Elizabeth students, on the other hand, rejected the idea that holding an ASB position meant that person was a leader. One student said, ASB officers may have authority to make decisions, "Authority is given to you. Leadership is earned."

6. The School Community

Each of the schools we studied is a strong community. Indeed, these Catholic schools were formed around the concept of community. There is a clear, explicitly stated behalf among faculty, administrators, staff, students and parents that a "sense of community" is what sets these schools apart from others, most notably public high schools. That also was our sense of each of these schools; we could see and feel the community; all the members were bound together in their joint efforts, traditions, myths, and symbols. When it is strong, community is palpable in a school.

Byrk, Lee and Holland's study of Catholic schools paid attention to the idea of "community", defining community as "membership in a set of traditions and mores that reflect the group's purpose" (1993, p. 128). They argue that a voluntary community, where students and parents must deliberately choose to participate (unlike public schools which must take anyone who comes to their door), gives them a strength of community which leads to students building character and greater academic achievement. We agree. In schools that are voluntary communities students by and large share the norms of the school--otherwise they leave. By paying tuition in the school, students are somewhat confirmed in a peer group that mirrors their values. Although all the schools made some effort to recruit minority students and offer scholarships to less economically privileged youth, most students in all three schools came from families with economic and educational privilege.

The presence or absence of the other sex made a difference in the way students experienced the community of their school; and they saw it change with the introduction of the other sex. For instance,

> "Girls have made the school bigger and this made Xavier lose its sense of a tight community. It is still a community but isn't the same Xavier as it was last year" (male student, Xavier).

> "I came here because it was an all female environment and because it was small. It's all changed now." (female student, Grove)

Senior young women at Grove High School perceived they were now treated as second class citizens. They pointed out the behavior of younger women in the coed grades, have "changed and they're giggly now" and appearance was important. "All they care about is what they're wearing." They also noted how males had become more dominant. "Guys seem to dominate meetings." We learned that all "class presidents for the coming year are boys" and "all student body officers are boys except for the secretary." These were significant events that reveal the changes in school community. The senior women from Grove saw their status displaced by the administration and faculty with the focus on males. One student pointed to a new brochure representing the school:

> "It just has guys in there. I mean, tons of guys, and where are the girls? For sports they had a picture of guys running track and guys' basketball, and then in the music group there should have been tons of girls, but the focus was on the guys. The funny thing is when the brochure was made there were only about 20 guys in the whole school, so all the same boys you saw over and over again."

The senior women at Grove felt a loss of school spirit and the close bonding among students. They noted the administration changed school traditions when males entered the school. For instance, students were no longer allowed to have initiation rituals for freshmen. The young women thought the administration had changed this policy because "they were afraid that with the guys here, the guys might take advantage of that or something." And they most strongly objected to the change in the school's name; whereas the school previously had been named after St. Theresa, the administration changed it to a less feminine name.

> "That was the most ridiculous thing in the world, changing the name so that it was less feminine so the boys would come here. That's what we were told, the reason they changed the name."

And they pointed out, "Xavier didn't change their name" to attract females.

While there was some resentment and difficulty at Xavier, the female students did not present the same degree of resentment.

> "There is a little tension in the air between the boys and girls. The junior class boys, especially, don't like us, but hopefully that will soon change."

> "The guys feel an extreme amount of resentment towards the girls, and that every time something goes wrong, we are blamed for it."

The junior male class struggled the most with coeducation. Young women constituted only a small portion of the class and most of the young men had already spent two years in an all male setting. These males were the least comfortable and the most angry with the presence of young women. In the senior class there were only six young women so senior males still spent most of their time within the company of males.

Despite these feelings among some males, women entering Xavier commented on the strong sense of community and how well accepted they were. The Xavier female students frequently talked about an emphasis on "unity" and community: "They want you to know everyone in the class"; "They even have a day-long freshman retreat to promote unity and get to know each other." A young woman spoke about the strength of community feeling: "At Xavier they talk about you as though you're going to be a senior; they expect you to be here all four years." A sophomore admitted she was:

> "kind of jealous of the freshmen who get to start out here.[and] of the boys who have been here. They have their traditions and inside jokes that I don't understand."

A female freshman agreed her class had an advantage because of an equal number of young men and young women, unlike the other classes where boys were in the majority. Nonetheless, the general feeling was that teachers, administrators, and most of the boys were treating the girls fairly and appropriately: "I thought the boys would be really rude to the girls. I'm surprised; they're not"; "The teachers are good at including girls; they are not favoring girls. They are not being too lenient."

With the introduction of coeducation, both Xavier and Grove increased the size of their school. At Grove the incoming freshmen class equaled twice the size of the graduating senior class, whereas at Xavier, the size of the school doubled. Everyone--staff, faculty and students--considered the size of the school to be an important factor in the changing sense of community. Young men at Xavier noted this change:

> "That's the biggest loss this year. This is a huge school. I remember by last year second semester I knew the whole school. Now I only know some of the freshman." (Xavier, male student)

At St. Elizabeth's the decision to remain single sex had a positive effect on their sense of community; the school affirmed its mission and proceeded to reinforce the norms

regarding their place as a safe haven for women. But this was not clear for several months since many were worried the school would lose too many students once Xavier accepted females.

Similar to Xavier and Grove's students, St. Elizabeth's young women expressed a strong sense of community. They were attracted by the small size, being able to recognize everybody and to get to know people well, by the "laid back and comfortable atmosphere" and by "having people who care about you for who you are, not how you look."

Young women at St. Elizabeth's valued being in an all-female environment where they could avoid "distractions" and "discipline problems" created by young men:

> "I visited (another) coed Catholic high school, but was really turned off. Guys took over most of the conversations in the classroom with the teachers; there were a lot of disciplinary problems with them and that was distracting."
>
> "I used to be convinced that students at Saint Elizabeth's were really deprived--didn't have cheerleaders or cute boys. I would look at friends going to other schools who would hang out with boys during breaks and I thought that was so cool. But now I can't even imagine going to school with boys.

The presence or absence of the other sex influenced the way students regarded the community of their school. The communities in both Xavier and Grove changed considerably with the introduction of the other sex.

GENDERED CULTURES

An all female classroom and an all female school are very different from an all male classroom or an all male school, and each of these stands in contrast with coeducational settings (Arnot,1982; Felker, 1993). The very fact of being single sex or coeducational results in distinct interaction patterns, kinds of discourse, and sense of self. As the self is generated through the reflected appraisals of others, females especially, have a different reflected self in an all female setting than when males are present. Boys have the privilege of learning in an environment that reflects back to them through lessons, texts, exams and discussions, the images and knowledge of their own male culture (Warren, 1989). Girls on the other hand, when in the same environment, see little reflection of their lives or their experiences (Style, 1988).

Each of the schools we studied were sound academically, they have sensitive and caring staff, students treated each other with respect, and they were committed to students learning about public service. From the data we gathered we found that young women faced experiences in the all female school unlike those in the coeducation school. Femaleness

was unrecognized and, in the case of one of the coeducational schools, even devalued, whereas in the female system it was recognized and valued.

We looked at how gender is communicated through aspects of the school culture. We maintain two points about how the schools we studied are gendered:

1. The concept of the primacy of the male influences school practice and policy; male students provide the norm and female students are the "other."
2. The value of femaleness is higher in all female schools than in coeducational settings, and females in single sex settings have a different construction of efficacy and individual power than in coeducational settings.

The primacy of the males means that the male norm is predominant; to be female is to be the "other" (Maher & Tetrault, 1994). This presumes that what is good for boys is also good for girls. Xavier did not change the academic or the extra curricular programs when females entered the school because they valued fairness and equity for all students. We discussed earlier how athletics was synonymous with school culture at Xavier. A Xavier education provided athletics as a way to develop leadership in all students. The decision to offer the same resources for female students as for males did have an impact on the male experience, however. The athletic coaches, for instance, complained that their potential pool of athletic talent would drop, a negative consequence for a select school in a highly competitive urban community.

Yet at Grove High School, as males entered the school there were many changes in the academic programs, curriculum and extracurricular offerings. It was a school originally designed for girls. What was good enough for girls was not good enough for boys. Although the coed transition began with the admission of boys only to the freshmen class, the school adopted a full, varsity level basketball program from the start. And the girls noticed this sudden and starkly contrasted commitment to sports excellence for boys.

So too, the emphasis on athletic excellence at Xavier Prep did impact St. Elizabeth's Academy. St. Elizabeth's lost sophomore, junior and senior athletes in transfers to Xavier. St. Elizabeth's braced for the reality that Xavier would hire strong coaches and their athletically oriented students might leave to play at a higher level of competition.

One incident especially illustrates how deeply embedded are the assumptions that males are the normative model, all else is the "other." A male editor had written an editorial in the Xavier school newspaper; it had also been read and approved by the female assistant editor. The article described how girls had changed things at Xavier; teachers were more lax and the standards were falling. The editor

attributed this demise of school standards to the presence of young women. The male Principal called the two to his office to discuss this article. He asked for data but they had none. They both defended the article's premise on their personal impressions. The Principal then raised the question, "Would you have written this article about African American students at our school?" Both said they wouldn't because it would be racist. "Then," he responded," how can you write such an article about young women?" We are not surprised at the students' response, but it is poignant that an intelligent, aware and capable young woman, who entered Xavier at a time of heightened consciousness about gender would attest to the devaluation of females. Females, like other devalued groups, do not want to be devalued and will see themselves as an "exception" to their group (Crosby, 1984). Females at Xavier unwittingly adopted the male standard. We predict that the sexism of this incident would not go unnoticed among the senior women at Grove High School or the young women at St. Elizabeth's (or even the young women who transferred to Xavier from St. Elizabeth's). And our response to this incident also reveals how much is expected of young women to lead reform efforts.

An avowed purpose of Xavier becoming coeducational was to extend their curriculum of "leadership for service" to young women. They did not alter their curriculum, they did not change their focus; they extended their offerings to include females. For instance, in one literature class taught by a female teacher, young women asked her, "Where are the women?" in the books they were reading. Her curriculum which was dictated by the English department--consisted of all male authors with male protagonists. Women at Xavier were expected to "fit in"; they were expected to perform as the young men had performed; there was no particular emphasis or consciousness that being female was any different than being male. They adopted a "same is equal" policy. Young women, however, were raising issues about femaleness which had not been raised previously. They are the products of the post-Title IX reform, and they are not always submissive or placating to male primacy.

> "In religion classes when they talk about God they use "He" but they're okay when girls bring up the question what if God is a she."

Grove High perhaps gives the clearest example of male primacy beginning with the symbolic act of changing the school name. It sought to create a different atmosphere or culture that would be more appealing to young men assuming what was good for girls was not good for boys. The young men, even though they were a minority, changed the culture of the school; freshmen initiations, assemblies, admissions, teacher interactions, peer relationships, and the all male officers of the student government give indications like at Grove high school changed significantly.

Sense of Efficacy

The concept of self-efficacy helps explain the differential experiences of young women in the three schools. Efficacy refers to power and agency which are important constructs in understanding relationships within a culture. According to Bandura (1982), self-efficacy is a cognitive mechanism that regulates behavior. "It develops as an individual acquires a conviction of personal competence, that is, when (she) believes that (she) has mastered the behaviors necessary to achieve a desired outcome. The strength of an individual's sense of self-efficacy determines whether (she) will initiate and sustain a behavior in the face of difficulties" (Ashton & Webb, 1986 p. 8). Bandura emphasized that perceived self-efficacy is a situation-specific determinant of behavior, not a global personality trait, and he stressed that the study of self-efficacy identify the contextual influences.

Our data show that students experience distinct realities when they are in single sex schools as constrasted with coeducational schools; this is true for males as well as females. It seems not to necessarily influence academic learning because it appears that girls manage to negotiate academic expectations despite having limited access to the dominant discourses in a classroom (Hiller, 1998). In terms of social learning it may have a powerful effect. With the absence of young men, in the all-female school, young women may develop a sense of efficacy they do not have when the institution asserts male primacy.

Issues of self-efficacy and agency are related to a sense of one's ability to control one's environment. These contribute to different positions of power for males and females in the same settings; and these seem to be one of the different consequences for females in coeducational and all female settings. For instance, Byrk, Lee and Holland (1993) show that women from single sex schools had higher academic expectations and attended more selective four-year colleges than their academic qualifications would lead one to expect. At St. Elizabeth's being female was an explicit part of the school culture; femaleness was valued. Young women did not experience being invisible, devalued, or debased.

Our data attest, however, to the fact that the young women who entered Xavier as the first wave of female students also had a strong sense of agency and efficacy or else they would not have been the vanguard for coeducation. They chose Xavier because they envisioned a proving ground for their capabilities, academically and athletically. Their vision of what was good for themselves was closely aligned with the male norm. Many of these women did note the contradictions they were experiencing in this environment; for some it was a small price to pay for a Xavier education, for others it was the signal for retreating into silent spaces.

One young woman summed up the differences between the environments, demonstrating her sensitivity to effects on particular young women:

> "I take care of an 8th grade girl after school, she has a lot of problems like eating disorders and depression and things like that. She is trying to decide between Xavier and St. Elizabeth's and I'm really pulling for her to go to St. Elizabeth's because I think it is a lot more stable environment. I think she would have so many problems trying to look cute all the time and trying to beat out the boys in classes and competing with boys. I think she'd be a lot happier with herself and learn a lot more about herself here. She'd be made to feel important and special here. She'd meet people that really care about her." (female student, St. Elizabeth)

The value of being female was different in the institutional settings of coeducation and all female schools. Femaleness was unrecognized and even devalued in the coeducational setting, whereas it was highly valued in the all female setting.

CONCLUSIONS

While Xavier and St. Elizabeth's shared similar missions for high academic standards, leadership in the community, and spirituality; the spoken rules and the unspoken assumptions about how people should behave in relation to authority stood in contrast to one another. At Xavier, there was an emphasis on uniformity and obedience to authority. There were clear parameters of what was expected of students, there was an enforced dress code, and the "product" of schooling is clearly explicated. This is consistent with the findings of other researchers (Bauch, 1989; Felker, 1993) who have typifed a "masculine" culture emphasizing function, efficiency and structure as compared to a more "feminine" culture which emphasize inclusiveness, interaction, caring and the context of learning. Young women talked about the pressure to fit the prevailing Xavier model.

At St. Elizabeth's there was an emphasis on individuality and even encouragement of some rebellion. There was not a clearly articulated "product" to be created at St. Elizabeth's, unlike the clear "product" of Xavier; the rules were more flexible and, indeed some young women from St. Elizabeth's chose to transfer to Xavier because it was "stricter." Young women at St. Elizabeth's, too, chose their school for its high academic expectations and, in some cases, for sports. But they specifically mentioned being in an all-female environment where they could avoid "distractions" and "discipline problems" created by young men.

While the Xavier community became more aware of and less tolerant of sexist language and behaviors, the expectations of administrators, teachers, and students themselves did not

change greatly. In sports, the goal was to offer the same opportunities for competitive sports to young women that had been available for young men, and to actively seek young women who would be competitive. The focus was on how young women could fit into traditions such as the junior encounter and freshman retreat. Xavier maintained a strong focus on academic and athletic achievement and--although a sense of community had been and still is important--the atmosphere remained competitive.

Young women who chose to attend Xavier expected to have the same standards applied to them that had been applied to young men, and they expected to work hard to be competitive. They didn't talk about concerns over being dominated by young men. They accepted that they needed to have a strong voice; they accepted the expectations.

Where the norms of the culture play out in unique ways beyond the direct influence of teachers and administrators, in places where girls cannot use their strongly honed academic skills to negotiate the situation, males dominate by virtue of their presence. Young women understand the appropriate places in this culture to express themselves and not express themselves. In any environment young women must still struggle with their developing selves in a society that does not value women as much as men, but in a cloistered environment of all females, there is usually a value of femaleness that allows them to discern its visceral qualities. There may be more opportunity in all female environments for becoming one's own agent and developing a sense of self-efficacy simply because the terrain of the culture is familiar, more conducive to exploring femaleness as a positive value or simply safer for testing one's voice.

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[1]See the following: Brody, Nagel & Pace, 1994; Brody, et.al, 1995; Schmuck, et.al., 1996; Poplin Gosetti & Brody, 1997.

[2] It should be noted that since data was first collected for this study females have done well in athletics in their first three years of coeducation; the women teams of Xavier High School have excelled.

Table 5.0

Student Response to Question: "How is leadership manifested among students?"

FX = Females, Xavier
FStE = Females at St. Elizabeth's
MX = Males at Xavier

Attibutes: "Leadership is.."	FX	FStE	MX
1. Assigned/Positional	3	3	2
2. Role Model	7	4	1
3. Age/Maturity	5	2	3
4. Personality Attributes			
Intelligence	2	1	--
Personality trait	10	3	2
Courage/Confidence	4	6	--
5. Skills,working with others	8	1	2
6. Different kinds of Leadership	3	1	3
Total Number of attributes ascribed by students	41	21	12

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APPENDIX A: BEFORE COEDUCATION

To: Jesuit Students

Your insights about the changes to Jesuit as it moved to a coeducational school are important. We appreciate your responses on this survey. Please circle your response to each question. Thank you.

Please circle your current class at Jesuit:
Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior

1. Having young women at Jesuit this year changed the school atmosphere.
not at all somewhat very much

2. I like attending Jesuit with women students.
not at all somewhat very much

3. Teachers now teach differently with young women in the classroom.
not at all somewhat very much

4. Teaching improved since young women came to Jesuit.
not at all somewhat very much

5. The social environment at Jesuit changed this year.
not at all somewhat very much

6. Having young women in the classroom made it easier to get good grades.
not at all somewhat very much

7. Opportunities to become good friends with young men changed when young women entered Jesuit.
not at all somewhat very much

8. Having young women come to Jesuit is a good idea.
not at all somewhat very much

9. What are your greatest concerns about the addition of young women to Jesuit?

10. Do you wish that Jesuit remained an all-male school? Why or why not?

To: Jesuit Students APPENDIX B : AFTER COEDUCATION

We appreciate your responses on this survey. Please circle your response to each question. Thank you.

Please circle your current class at Jesuit:
Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior

What school did you attend last year? _____

Please indicate your gender: Female Male

1. Compared to my school experience last year, I think the school atmosphere this year is different.
not at all somewhat very much

2. Compared to my school experience last year, teachers teach differently now.
not at all somewhat very much

3. Compared to my school experience last year, I think teaching has improved.
not at all somewhat very much

4. Compared to my school experience last year, I think the social environment has changed.
not at all somewhat very much

5. Compared to my school experience last year, I think opportunities to become good friends with members of my sex have increased.
not at all somewhat very much

6. Compared to my school experience last year, I think opportunities to become good friends with members of my sex have decreased.
not at all somewhat very much

7. Compared to my school experience last year, I think opportunities to become friends with members of the other sex have increased.
not at all somewhat very much

8. Compared to my school experience last year, I think opportunities to become friends with members of the other sex have decreased.
not at all somewhat very much

9. Additional Comments: